

THE SEITENSTETTEN MISSAL AND THE PERSISTENCE OF ITALO-BYZANTINE INFLUENCE AT SALZBURG

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In recent decades scholars have focused increasing attention on the international character of thirteenth-century European painting.¹ Central to this discussion is a group of manuscripts associated with the Epistolary written in 1259 by the Paduan scribe Giovanni Gaibana in the early part of his career, today in the sacristy of the cathedral at Padua.² Around the date and provenance of these

¹Probably the most significant article on the relationship between the art of Central Europe and the art of Byzantium remains Hans Belting, "Zwischen Gotik und Byzanz: Gedanken zur Geschichte der sächsischen Buchmalerei im 13. Jahrhundert," *ZKunstg* 41 (1978), 217–57. Among the published papers of recent symposia on the problem of internationalism in 13th-century art are: H. Belting, ed., *Il medio oriente e l'occidente nell'arte del XIII secolo* (Bologna, 1979), and V. P. Goss, ed., *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades* (Kalamazoo, 1986).

²B. Katterbach, *Le miniature dell'epistolario di Padova dell'anno 1259* (Vatican City, 1931), and C. Bellinati and S. Bettini, *L'epistolario miniato di Giovanni Gaibana* (Vicenza, 1968), 2 vols. It was long assumed that Giovanni Gaibana was the illuminator as well as the scribe of the Padua Epistolary, but Bellinati has shown convincingly that Gaibana was only the scribe, for he signed works decorated in an altogether different style later in his career. Nevertheless, the term "Gaibanesque" will be used in this paper to refer only to works decorated in the style of the Padua Epistolary, a style that disappears from the Veneto after about 1265. The manuscript group was formulated by Ingrid Hänsel-Hacker in "Die Miniaturmalerei einer paduaner Schule im Duecento," *JÖBG* 2 (1952), 105–48. Among other works, Hänsel-Hacker cited a collection of the Epistles of St. Paul with the commentary of Peter Lombard in the library of St. Paul in Lavanthal, two Psalters, one in the National Library in Vienna, a second in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and two panels until recently in the von Hirsch collection (*Art at Auction: The Year at Sotheby Parke Bernet 1977–1978* [London, 1978], 16). A third Psalter, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, will serve as our example of an Italian Gaibanesque hand. Two Missals were made for Austrian monasteries, the one for Seitenstetten, and a second for Admont, now in the Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon. Hänsel-Hacker also included a secular work, an anthology of German courtly poetry of the 13th century. The anthology includes Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* and *Willehalm*, the *Nibelunge Not*, and the *Klage*, which often follows it, an epic of the life of Charlemagne by a German poet known as "Der Stricker," who worked primarily in Austria, and fragments from a *Spruchs auf Maria* by Frederich von Sonnenberg.

manuscripts revolve issues of the dissemination of Byzantine art in Italy and of Byzantine and Italian influence in Austria. On this second problem hangs much of the chronology of thirteenth-century Central European manuscript illumination.³ Prominent within the Gaibana group is the Seitenstetten Missal, now MS 855 in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. The following paper is based on observations drawn from a longer study of the Seitenstetten Missal, carried out under the guidance of Professor Ernst Kitzinger, in which I explored aspects of a major theme in his work, the contribution of Byzantine art to the art of Western Europe.⁴

The decoration of the Padua Epistolary is highly distinctive, and the manuscripts from the same

The manuscript, now in the monastery of Sankt Gallen, was intended as an anthology from the beginning (W. Schroder, "Zur Bucheinteilung in Wolframs 'Willehalm'," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 43 [1969], 385–404).

³The use of dated Central European monuments as aids in establishing the chronology of problematic Byzantine works has not been pursued by scholars. Works such as the Hildesheim ceiling may tell us something about the dates of Palaeologan painting, and the Klosterneuburg MS 660 may help with the dating of the Kahn and Mellon Madonnas in the National Gallery in Washington (see below, notes 40, 46, and 47).

⁴A different version of this paper was originally prepared as part of a unique volume of studies presented to Professor Kitzinger on the occasion of the symposium and exhibition organized to celebrate his retirement as A. Kingsley Porter University Professor, Harvard University, 17 March 1979. An analysis of the Seitenstetten Missal was also presented at the Thirteenth Conference on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, on 4 May 1978. In addition to my debt to Professor Kitzinger, I should also acknowledge help received from Henry Maguire in my earliest work on the Missal and from Paul Meyvaert on the palaeographic aspects of the manuscript. I am grateful for courtesy extended by William Voelke of the Pierpont Morgan Library on several visits there, and by the staffs of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, and the Studienbibliothek in Linz.

atelier can be separated easily from those illuminated in similar North Italian styles. For this reason Hanns Swarzenski, among others, was able to identify the influence of the so-called Gaibana style on the manuscript illuminators of Northern Europe.⁵ Indeed, not only did the Gaibana style spread rapidly through Central Europe, but, in fact, all but two of the manuscripts known to have been illuminated in the style of the Padua Epistolary were made for monasteries and individual patrons north of the Alps, among them members of the Bohemian nobility.⁶ Despite this, the invention of the Gaibana style should be attributed to the Veneto, for it combines Byzantine, Venetian, and possibly Crusader motifs.⁷

Usually, when Venetian and Byzantine influence is recognized in Northern European art, the exact means of its transmission remains hidden. But in 1952 Ingrid Hänsel-Hacker published an article that clarified this aspect of the Gaibanesque wave in Austria and neighboring regions.⁸ She noted that the appearance of the Gaibanesque manuscripts in the north coincided with the appointment of Prince Wladislav, cousin of King Ottokar II of Bohemia, as archbishop of Salzburg. According to her hypothesis, on his elevation in 1265, Wladislav, then a student in Padua, persuaded a painters' atelier from that city to accompany him to Salzburg.

The following comments on the Seitenstetten Missal support Hänsel-Hacker's characterization of Wladislav's patronage. But they also clarify aspects of manuscript illumination in Austria and Bavaria in the middle of the thirteenth century.

⁵H. Swarzenski, *Die lateinischen illuminierten Handschriften des XIII. Jahrhunderts in den Ländern an Rhein, Main, und Donau* (Berlin, 1936), text, 33. G. Schmidt, "Italienische Buchmalerei in Österreich," *Alte und moderne Kunst* 6 (1961), 2–6. P. Buberl, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Steiermark* (Leipzig, 1911), 121–32.

⁶Hänsel-Hacker, "Die Miniaturmalerei," 110–11. The style has also been recognized in frescoes in the Tirol, and Austrian and Bohemian manuscripts in the decade after 1260 show Gaibanesque influence. I. Hänsel-Hacker, "Die Fresken der St.-Nikolaus-Kirche dei Matrei in Osttirol, des Werk einer paduaner Malerschule der 13. Jahrhunderts," *JÖBG* 3 (1954), 109–22, J. Kvet, *Italske Vlivy na pozdne romanskou knizni malbu v Cechach* (Prague, 1927), and A. Friedl, *Leckionar Arnolda Mesenskeho* (Prague, 1928).

⁷The Byzantine characteristics of the Epistolary join the Paduan atelier to its exact contemporaries in the East. See Kvet, *Italske Vlivy* and T. Velmans, "Deux manuscrits enluminés inédits et les influences réciproques entre Byzance et l'Italie au XIVe siècle," *CahArch* 20 (1970), 207–33. Wolfgang Grape stresses the complex relationship between the European and Crusader styles, as well as Armenian painting in *Grenzprobleme der byzantinischen Malerei: Über die Grenzen der Stilbildenden Rolle der byzantinischen Kunst für einzelne Buchmalereizentren in ihrem Einflussbereich*, Diss. (University of Vienna, 1973).

⁸Hänsel-Hacker, "Die Miniaturmalerei."

This is possible because the manuscript, repeatedly published as including the work of an Italian painter, is instead entirely the work of northern illuminators, as some scholars have already noted.⁹ A brief look at the decoration of the Seitenstetten Missal demonstrates that even the Gaibanesque master of the manuscript was Austrian. Furthermore, the Italianate, Byzantinizing images were not just copies of images brought north by the Gaibana atelier, but were produced by combining that style with elements drawn from Byzantine and Italian art already present in Salzburg earlier in the thirteenth century. In other words, not all of the southern elements in the work of the Gaibanesque master of the Seitenstetten Missal arrived with the atelier from Padua around 1265. Indeed, the assimilation of the characteristics of the Paduan style was probably facilitated by a long-standing familiarity with Venetian and Byzantine art at Salzburg.

That the Missal was originally intended for Seitenstetten's Benedictine monastery is certain. The manuscript was at Seitenstetten until shortly before it was acquired for the Chester Beatty Library in 1927, from which it passed to the Morgan Library in 1951.¹⁰ And included in the calendar of the Missal, in the hand of one of the original scribes, is the name of Seitenstetten's founder, Udalschalk von Stille, on May 11, and the traditional date of the foundation of the monastery, on November 3.¹¹ That these citations refer to the entire manuscript is clear from its condition, which, aside from its Baroque cover, comprises the manuscript's original form: a calendar, gradual, sequentiary, prefaces, and sacramentary, in 220 folios, written in a stylistically consistent Austrian miniscule.¹²

⁹M. Harrsen, "Italian Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library (New York, 1953), 8, and P. D'Ancona and E. Aeschlimann, *The Art of Illumination: An Anthology of Manuscripts from the Sixth to the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1969), 218, pl. 79. Among the scholars who recognized the Austrian origin of the Gaibanesque master were Hänsel-Hacker, "Die Miniaturmalerei," 113, and Andrea Berger-Fix, "Das Wimpassinger Kreuz und seine Einordnung in die Kunst des 13. Jahrhunderts," *WJKg* 33 (1980), 31–80.

¹⁰The Missal passed from Seitenstetten to the dealer Jacques Rosenthal of Munich, where it appeared in his catalogue #90: *Bibliotheca Medii Aevii Manuscripta—Pars Altera: Einhundert Handschriften des Mittelalters von Zehnten bis zum Fünfzehnten Jahrhundert* (Munich, n.d.), 83–85, lot. 165.

¹¹E. Millar, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty* (London, 1927–30), II, 13, 17.

¹²Another manuscript from Seitenstetten, a Gospel, now M. 808 in the Morgan Library, has a similar script style and must be considered in a thorough discussion of the Missal (M. Harrsen, *Central European Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library* [New York, 1958], 45).

Localizing the execution of the Missal is more complex. Since it was prepared for Seitenstetten, which lies in the diocese of Passau, it has been suggested that the Missal was made in Passau or even at Seitenstetten itself.¹³ But beginning with Eric Millar, scholars including Hänsel-Hacker and, more recently, Andrea Berger-Fix have provided convincing arguments for an attribution to Salzburg.¹⁴ Above all, as Millar first pointed out, the signs of the zodiac, which accompany the calendar pages in the Seitenstetten Missal, copy exactly, if somewhat less gracefully, those of the brilliant Oratoriale of St. Erentrud, produced in the monastery of St. Peter at Salzburg, for use in that house, in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, and now MS lat. 15902 in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich.¹⁵ As a recent study has pointed out, the practice of copying earlier works was common in Bavaria and Austria in the thirteenth century.¹⁶ And while there are examples of manuscripts loaned for copying, this seems highly unlikely in the case of a manuscript as elaborate and valuable as the Oratoriale.¹⁷

A closer look at this comparison makes the attribution of the Missal to Salzburg appear even more certain. Berger-Fix has noted that a group of saints belonging to Salzburg appears in both calendars.¹⁸ Indeed, the Oratoriale of St. Erentrud provides the closest comparison for the calendar of saints in the Seitenstetten Missal.¹⁹ Furthermore, the calendars of manuscripts written in Bavaria and in the Passau diocese diverge markedly from that of the Seitenstetten Missal.²⁰ For example, of the three patron saints of the diocese of Passau, two, Saints Severin and Maximilian, are missing. And three saints from Aquileia—Cantian, Cantius, and Cantianella—who appear in many Passau calendars to observe the affiliation between the bishopric of Passau and the archbishopric of

Aquileia, do not appear in the calendar of the Seitenstetten Missal, discouraging an attribution to either Passau or Seitenstetten.²¹ In addition, no illuminated manuscripts have been traced to Passau, and a recent study of Seitenstetten observed that, in the thirteenth century, the monastery was too provincial to maintain a scriptorium capable of producing luxury manuscripts.²²

Finally, there is a coincidence of dates in the history of Seitenstetten which explains the execution of a Missal for Seitenstetten at Salzburg around 1265. Monastic chronicles report that the monastery at Seitenstetten burned to the ground in 1254.²³ Following the fire, the archbishop of Salzburg, Phillip of Carinthia, offered his assistance and granted indulgences to those giving aid to the monastery. But reconstruction at Seitenstetten did not begin until 1264.²⁴ In the decade between 1254 and 1264, Austria was plagued by political upheaval, and work on the monastery was probably delayed by the grim financial condition of the diocese brought on by the war that Phillip waged in those years with Ulrich of Seckau over the archepiscopacy of Salzburg.²⁵ It is possible that the Seitenstetten Missal, like the monastery itself, was begun when comparative peace followed Ulrich's sudden withdrawal of his claim, shortly before Phillip's death in 1264 and Wladislav's arrival from Padua the following year. Thus it seems likely that the Missal belongs to the very period when Wladislav arrived from Padua, bringing with him, according to Hänsel-Hacker's theory, a new group of Italian artists. Certainly the Missal would have been an appropriate gift to mark the rebuilding of the monastery begun in 1264 or, more likely, its subsequent rededication.

That the Missal belongs to this point of transition is also suggested by the unusual distribution of the Gaibanesque hand in the manuscript. For while the script is entirely consistent throughout the codex, the Gaibanesque decoration is limited

¹³ Hänsel-Hacker proposed Passau, among other sites, in "Die Miniaturmalerei," 139–40, and Harrsen proposed Seitenstetten in *Central European Manuscripts*, 45.

¹⁴ Berger-Fix, "Das Wimpassinger Kreuz," 80.

¹⁵ Millar, *A. Chester Beatty*, II, 21. See also G. Swarzenski, *Die salzburger Malerei von ersten Anfängen bis zur Blütezeit des romanischen Stils* (Leipzig, 1913), figs. 445, 446.

¹⁶ A. Legner, ed., *Ornamenta Ecclesiae Kunst und Künstler der Romanik* (Cologne, 1985), I, cat. no. B105 and B106f.

¹⁷ A. Boeckler, "Zur Conrad von Scheyern Frage," *JbKw* (1923), 83–102.

¹⁸ Berger-Fix, "Das Wimpassinger Kreuz," 73.

¹⁹ Swarzenski, *Die salzburger Malerei*, 170–81.

²⁰ A. Lagemann, "Der Festkalender des Bistums Bamberg im Mittelalter: Entwicklung und Anwendung," *Historischer Verein Bamberg* 103 (1967), 7–264, and A. Lechner, *Mittelalterliche Kirchenfeste und Kalendarien in Bayern* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1891), 163–88.

²¹ Lechner, *Kirchenfeste*, 168.

²² Z. Ameisonowa, "Eine süddeutsche frühgotische Prachtbibel auf Schloss Sucha (Polen)," *MünchJb* 11.2 (1934–35), 175. H. Cerny, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Wissenschaftspflege des Stiftes Seitenstetten im Mittelalter," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 78 (1967), 80.

²³ P. Ortmayr and A. Decker, *Das Benediktinerstift Seitenstetten* (1955), 53. I. Raab, *Urkundenbuch des Benediktinerstiftes Seitenstetten* (Vienna, 1870), 50–51.

²⁴ Ortmayr, *Das Benediktinerstift Seitenstetten*, 60–61.

²⁵ K. Amon, *Die Bischöfe von Graz-Seckau 1218–1968* (Graz, 1969). R. List, *Stift Admont 1074–1974* (Inkreis, 1974), 109. Aside from money spent on arms and lost in local destruction, funds were lost when local parishes withheld payment of tithes and taxes.

to a few sections of the Missal.²⁶ The only sections painted under Gaibanesque influence were the folios of the calendar quire, the folios that contain the prefaces to the canon of the mass, the full-page Madonna and Child and the first of two full-page Crucifixions which follow it, and the two historiated initials of the last quire of the sacramentary, which contains the offices for the dead and for the dedication of a church (Figs. 1, 3, and 4).²⁷ The rest of the manuscript, all of the gradual and most of the sacramentary, was executed by artists working in a different and less brilliant Austrian style, marked by an absence of the gold ground that characterizes the Gaibanesque portions of the manuscript. The division of the Missal results in a dramatic shift in its decoration, the sort that might have been precipitated by a major change in the personnel of the atelier at St. Peter's in Salzburg.

What does the style of the Gaibanesque portion of the Missal reveal about the localization of the atelier in which it was decorated? Certainly, as many have observed, the Gaibanesque influence is pronounced. The image of the Virgin and Child contains the hallmarks of that manuscript group: the flowering trees, the drapery edged with white dots, the palette dominated by grays and other pastels including pale green (Fig. 1).²⁸ These characteristics appear in all the manuscripts of the Gaibana group, for example, in the Psalter today in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, which is generally acknowledged to be the work of one of the Italian members of the Gaibana atelier (Fig. 2).²⁹

Similarly, the ornamentation of the initials "VD" (*Vere dignum*), which open twelve of the prefaces to the canon of the mass, includes imitation of the Gaibana style. Many of the initials are based on broad, three-dimensional shafts decorated with white pen-work, and some terminate in split leaves

or volutes. In the Padua Epistolary and the Fitzwilliam Psalter initials are augmented with foliage that is Byzantine in origin, flat lattices, and scalloped strips in the split shafts.³⁰ In the "VD" of the preface for the feasts of the Virgin in the Seitenstetten Missal are the characteristic Byzantine flowers (Fig. 3). And the faceted initial bows from that same preface are close to those in the "Beatus" initial of the Fitzwilliam Psalter (Fig. 2). The scalloped borders found throughout the Padua Epistolary surround the image of the Virgin and Child and also appear in the "VD" of the proper preface (fol. 109).

Despite these characteristics, it is clear that the artist who executed the image of the Virgin, the prefaces, and the other Gaibanesque portions of the Seitenstetten Missal was trained in Austria. For example, as Andrea Berger-Fix recently demonstrated, the Gaibanesque master's work contains a subtle characteristic of both Austrian and Franco-Italian manuscript painting, a zigzag or sawtooth drapery edge that is especially clear on the neck of the Virgin's mantle.³¹ Calling attention to this characteristic of the Franconian style, which probably reached Austria in the 1260s, she reaffirmed the connection made several decades ago between the Missal and the destroyed Wimpassing Crucifixion, a work that was probably given to the Minoritenkirche in Vienna in the 1260s or 1270s.³² She noted that this panel, which imitated the painted wooden crosses of Italy, shares details in the painting of faces with the Seitenstetten Missal, and she attributed both works to Salzburg.

Other important Austrian characteristics should be added to this list. In the ornamentation of two of the preface initials is a netlike cross-hatching, characteristic of Austrian manuscript illumination, and found in a number of works attributed to Salzburg by Gerhard Schmidt.³³ In addition, leaves

²⁶One variation in the script occurs on folios 87v and 88r where the Mass for Corpus Christi was added near the end of the 13th century.

²⁷Calendar: folios 1v–7r; proper and common prefaces: folios 105r–109v, 110v–111v; collects for Mass for the Dead and Foundation of a church: folios 206r–207r.

²⁸Hänsel-Hacker discussed the origins of this style extensively ("Miniaturmalerei," 114–16).

²⁹MS 36–1950 in the Fitzwilliam Museum came from the Henry Yates-Thompson Collection. M. R. James, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Second Series of Fifty Manuscripts in the Collection of H. Y. Thompson* (Cambridge, 1902). Hänsel-Hacker, "Die Miniaturmalerei," 109–11. See most recently F. Wormald and P. M. Giles, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Additional Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum Acquired between 1895 and 1979 (Excluding the McClean Collection)* (Cambridge, 1982), II, 414–29, pls. 18–20.

³⁰Hänsel-Hacker, "Die Miniaturmalerei," 125–28, and Kvet, *Italske Vlivy*.

³¹Berger-Fix, "Das Wimpassinger Kreuz," 75–76. Hanns Swarzenski localized the origins of this style to Würzburg, Bamberg, and Eichstätt in *Die lateinischen illuminierten Handschriften*, text, 63–80.

³²The original study of the cross was by E. Strohmmer, "Das Riesenkreuz von Wimpassing," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 6 (1939), 87–102. Berger-Fix's date of the 1260s, with which I agree, disputes Strohmmer's date of around 1280, which is generally repeated in more recent literature: *Niederösterreichische Landesausstellung, Die Zeit der frühen Habsburger: Dome und Kloster 1279–1379* (Wiener Neustadt, 1979), 84–85.

³³G. Schmidt, *Die Malerschule von St. Florian* (Graz, 1962), fig. 16. In the Seitenstetten Missal, this motif occurs in the initial of the preface for the Ascension of Christ (fol. 106v) and the preface for Pentecost (fol. 107r).



1. Virgin and Child, Seitenstetten Missal, MS 855, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, fol. 110v (photo: Pierpont Morgan Library)



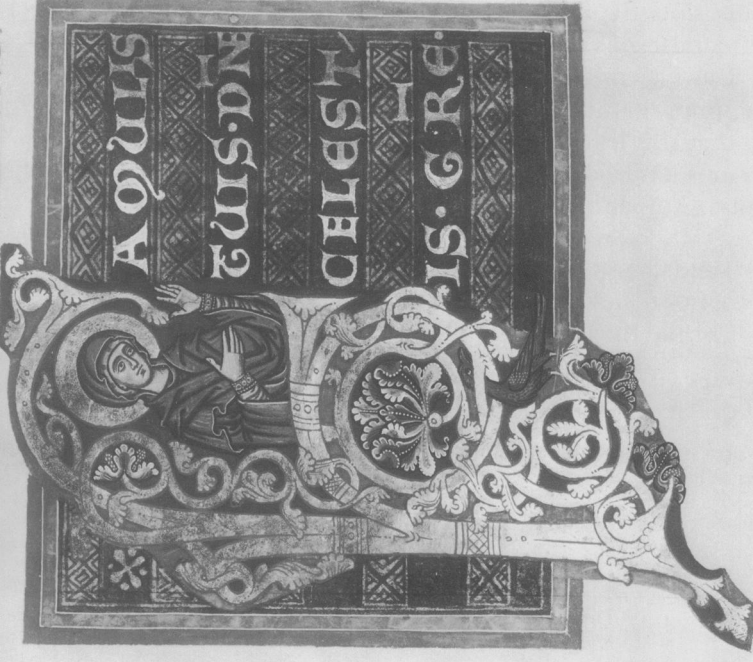
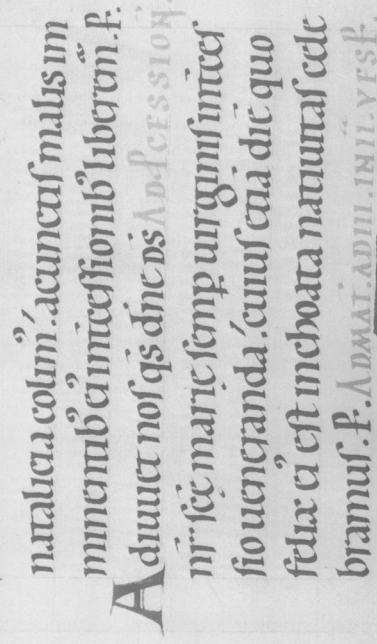
2. *Beatus Vir*, Psalter, MS 36-1950, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, fol. 23v
(photo: Fitzwilliam Museum)



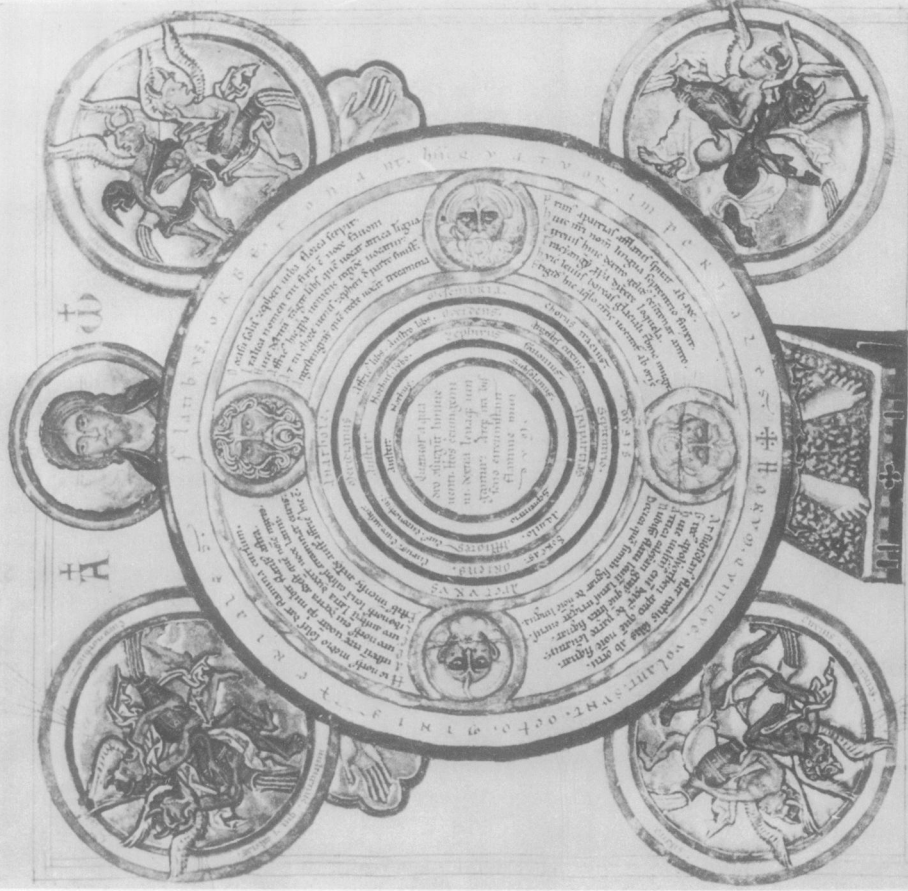
3. Annunciation, preface for the feasts of the Virgin, Seitenstetten Missal, fol. 108v (photo: Pierpont Morgan Library)



4. Christ Adored by Angels, preface for the Holy Trinity, and Vita and Mors, preface for the Holy Cross, Seitenstetten Missal, fol. 107v (photo: Pierpont Morgan Library)



7. Virgin, Orationale of St. Erentrud, MS lat. 15902, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, fol. 124v (photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek)

[illegible]

8. Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, MS 490, Studienbibliothek, Linz, fol. 3v (photo: Studienbibliothek and the Eiersebnert estate)

with three short buds found in Austrian manuscripts such as the Salzburg Lectionary, usually dated around 1250, appear in the initial "P" which opens the dedication of a church.³⁴ Furthermore, iconographic motifs point to the Northern European heritage of the manuscript's designer. For example, in the preface for the feast of the Holy Cross are two figures, which have been described by scholars as St. Helena Raising a Man from the Dead or Synagogue and Ecclesia (Fig. 4).³⁵ In fact, they are Mors and Vita, mentioned in the text of the preface, and are striking copies of a pair in an Ottonian manuscript, the Gospel of Abbess Uta of Niedermünster, MS lat. 13601 in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, fol. 3v, identified as Mors and Vita by inscriptions.³⁶ The motif, apparently rare, was certainly known in the thirteenth century by some artists.

Even more significant are additional elements of the figural style. Missing from the Seitenstetten Missal are the high crowns, round eyes, triangular shadows under the eyes, white-tipped short noses, and large ears that typify the Gaibana group. In the Seitenstetten Missal we find instead delicate figures and narrow faces with slightly hooked noses, with black dots for nostrils, straight eyebrows, eyes indicated by nearly parallel lines, and small smudgy circles under the eyes. Ears are nearly eliminated. In fact, the closest parallels to these small, lively figures are in Bavarian and Austrian manuscripts of the mid-thirteenth century. These are manuscripts decorated in a simple style, often line drawings or painted in washes, which at times have some characteristics of the *Zackenstil*. It is possible that this less formal style was used primarily for non-liturgical, secular, and vernacular manuscripts. Among these manuscripts is *Der Wälsche Gast*, MS Pal. Germ. 389, in the University Library at Heidelberg, a copy of a courtly, moralizing essay, written and decorated in Bavaria in the second half of the thirteenth century (Fig. 5). The

small figures here include a number that are very close to the Seitenstetten Missal's Vita and the announce angel (Figs. 3 and 4).³⁷ Among other manuscripts with similarly drawn figures and faces is one executed at Scheyern near Regensburg in 1241, which is known as both the *Mater Verborum* and the *Glossarum* of Solomon of Constance (MS lat. 17403 in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich).³⁸

If we turn from the smaller details of style and iconography to the image of the Virgin and Child Enthroned, the Central European derivation of the artist's style can be shown. Undoubtedly the nursing Virgin and the turned-foot Child are motifs that have their origins in Italy and the East, and the severely frontal Virgin appears to be based on the *Nikopoia* type used throughout the Byzantine world.³⁹ But the closest comparison for the arrangement of the Virgin's drapery is Northern European and appears to be dated well before 1265. Certainly it is significant that the closest comparison for the drapery is the figure of the Virgin from the Tree of Jesse on the ceiling of the church of St.

³⁷ H. Frühmorgen-Voss, "Mittelhochdeutsche weltliche Literatur und ihre Illustration," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 43 (1969), 57. A. von Oechelhaeuser, *Der Bilderkreis zum Wälschen Gaste des Thomasin von Zerclaere nach den Vorhandenen Handschriften* (Heidelberg, 1890). It was written by a cleric at Aquileia, Thomas of Zirclaere, around 1215 or 1216 for a German patron.

³⁸ A. Boeckler, "Zur Conrad von Scheyern Frage." J. Darnrich, *Ein Kunstlerdreiblatt des XIII. Jahrhunderts aus Kloster Scheyern* (Strassburg, 1904). E. Stollreither, *Bildnisse des IX.-XVIII. Jahrhunderts aus Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Munich, 1928), figs. 25, 27, 28. More recently, *Ornamenta Ecclesiae*, B.106. Another work that might be added to this group is the Millstatt Genesis, Klagenfurt Landesarchiv, MS VI.9. Its attribution to the 12th century should be reconsidered in light of its resemblance to the prefaces of the Seitenstetten Missal and the *Wälsche Gast*, as well as its paleography. H. Menhardt, "Die Bilder der Millstätter Genesis und ihre Verwandten," *Festschrift für Rudolf Egger, Beiträge zur älteren europäischen Kulturgeschichte* (Klagenfurt, 1954), III, 248-371, and the recent facsimile, *Codices Selecti X* (Graz, 1967).

³⁹ The frontal Virgin type is so widespread that its ultimate inspiration could be either Italian or Byzantine; see, e.g., E. Carli, *Italian Primitives: Panel Painting of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (New York, 1965), fig. 17, and O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (London, 1948), fig. 10A. On the *Virgo lactans*, see V. Lasareff, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin," *ArtB* 20 (1938), 27-36. On the turned-over foot, see W. Krause, "Planta Nuda: Metamorphosen eines antiken Motivs in der früh-und-hochmittelalterlichen Kunst," *WJKg* 33 (1980), 17-29. The combination may be Venetian or Byzantine in origin. Two other examples in Austria are later than the Missal; see Swarzenski, *Die lateinischen illuminierten Handschriften*, text, 17, and Schmidt, *Die Malerschule von St. Florian*, fig. 75. This combination is found extensively in Siene painting of the *trecento*; see H. W. van Os, *Marias Demut und Verherrlichung in der sienesischen Malerei 1300-1450* (The Hague, 1969), figs. 43, 46, 71, 75, 79.

³⁴ In the Seitenstetten Missal, fol. 207r. For the Salzburg Lectionary (Berlin, Stadtsbibliothek, MS Theol. lat. fol. 52), see Swarzenski, *Die lateinische illuminierten Handschriften*, fig. 429. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesmuseum, *Die Zeit der Staufer: Geschichte, Kunst, Kultur: Katalog der Ausstellung* (1977), II, 572-73.

³⁵ Eric Millar (A. Chester Beatty, II, 24) suggested Ecclesia and Synagogue. For St. Helena, see an unpublished dossier in the Pierpont Morgan Library.

³⁶ G. Swarzenski, *Die regensburger Buchmalerei des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1907), 30, pl. XIII. "Who hast appointed that salvation of mankind should be wrought on the wood of the cross: that from whence death came, thence life might arise, and that he who overcame by the tree, might also by the tree be overcome": *Roman Missal* (Philadelphia, 1843), xxx.

Michael at Hildesheim, usually dated to the decade after 1240, and associated by scholars with the *Wolfenbüttel Musterbuch*, which has its sources in Venetian and ultimately in Byzantine art.⁴⁰ Parallels between the Seitenstetten Missal and the Virgin at Hildesheim include the arrangement of the drapery on the shoulders and neck and the large angular fold on the knee. Indeed, the upper body portions appear to be mirror images of each other, while the arrangement of drapery on the lower portions of the bodies, with their square-footed folds, are virtually the same.

Whether the connection between the Hildesheim ceiling and the Seitenstetten Missal is a direct one, indicating as yet unexplored ties between Salzburg and Saxony, cannot be determined here. What is clear is that the image of the Virgin and Child in the Seitenstetten Missal fits into the context of thirteenth-century Central European art. Furthermore, it identifies this manuscript painter as one of a group of artists who had become familiar with aspects of Byzantine and Venetian art by the middle of the thirteenth century, possibly through painting or drawings such as the *Wolfenbüttel Musterbuch* or through artists who had worked in Italy, especially at Venice.

Another image, this time in a manuscript, testifies to the degree to which the Virgin and Child in the Seitenstetten Missal, and indeed the style of the Gaibanesque master in the Missal, depends on a Byzantinizing tradition established at Salzburg by the middle of the thirteenth century. This Virgin and Child Enthroned is found in the initial "Q" that opens a copy of the *Summa* of Raymund de Pennaforte, MS 660 in the monastery library at Klosterneuburg, near Vienna (Fig. 6).⁴¹ It is likely that the manuscript was made between 1248 and 1252, when Arnoldus, shown as its donor, was deacon at Klosterneuburg.⁴² Here the Virgin holds the

Child to the right, while he presses his cheek to hers and reaches up to touch her chin, gestures known in both Italian and Byzantine images.⁴³ Still, the resemblance to the Seitenstetten Missal is clear. Not only are the thrones in the images of the Virgin similar, but in both, her mantle falls across his back and her hand rests on his shoulder, two unusual motifs.

The image in the Klosterneuburg *Summa* also finds parallels in the preface miniatures. The figure of the Virgin in the Annunciation that opens the preface for the feasts of the Virgin is turned to the side, as is the Klosterneuburg Virgin (Figs. 3 and 6). Here there is a remarkable similarity in the drawing of the Virgin's mantle, in the treatment of the shoulders and elbow, and in the profile of the Virgin's head and face. And, as we shall see below, these are elements that find parallels in Byzantine art and the art of the Italian *maniera greca*. In addition, the lower portion of the Klosterneuburg Virgin has drapery folds that resemble those on the figure of Christ in the preface for the Trinity (Fig. 4). Finally, the palmettes in the initial bows are identical to a pair in the preface for the feasts of the apostles (fol. 107v).

Aside from our comparison with the Seitenstetten Missal, the Klosterneuburg *Summa* is an isolated manuscript. Nevertheless, Gerhard Schmidt attributed it to Salzburg, and its similarity to the Missal provides a mutually supporting affirmation of the attributions of both works to Salzburg.⁴⁴ Certainly the two manuscripts are related, but whether they are by the same painter is difficult to determine, since the figures in the *Summa* are painted in washes, quite different in effect from the tempera paints of the Seitenstetten Missal. Moreover, the two manuscripts are at least fifteen years apart in date.

The *Summa*, with its date of about 1250, demonstrates that Byzantinizing elements were available to the master of the Seitenstetten Missal well before the arrival of the Gaibana atelier in 1265. The *Summa* also shows that some of these characteristics belonged to an artist or artists who can be identified with the city of Salzburg. The Orationale of St. Erentrud, the manuscript that provided the model for the calendar pages of the Seitenstetten Missal, confirms this tradition. The Orationale contains several images of the Virgin, including a

⁴⁰Johannes Sommer has given the Hildesheim ceiling a date around 1200, but this has generally been discarded in favor of a later date. J. Sommer, *Das Deckenbild der Michelskirche zu Hildesheim* (Hildesheim, 1966), 54. A date after 1240 has been reached by comparing the ceiling paintings with frescoes in the cathedral at Braunschweig, which are dated between 1246 and 1260 (O. Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei* [Munich, 1968], 192–95), and with the Goslar Evangeliary and the Missal of Provost John Semeco at Goslar and Halberstadt, respectively. The Semeco Missal must be dated between 1239 and 1245 when he was provost at Halberstadt (A. Goldschmidt, *Das Evangeliar im Rathaus . . . zu Goslar* [Berlin, 1910]). See H. Buchthal, *The "Musterbuch" of Wolfenbüttel and Its Position in the Art of the Thirteenth Century* (Vienna, 1979).

⁴¹Schmidt, *Die Malerschule von St. Florian*, 102, no. 117.

⁴²Klosterneuburg, *Zentrum der Gotik: Ausstellung im Stiftsmuseum* (Klosterneuburg, 1961), 8.

⁴³Among numerous examples are those cited by Lasareff, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin," 42–46.

⁴⁴Schmidt, *Die Malerschule von St. Florian*, 102.

figure that opens the text *Famulis tuis* (Fig. 7). Once again, the mantle falls in the folds that characterize the hood and shoulders of the Virgin in the *Summa* and in the Annunciation of the Seitenstetten Missal (Figs. 3 and 6).

The manuscripts discussed thus far demonstrate an intense and continuous interest in Italian and Byzantine art at Salzburg. The Wimpassing Crucifixion provides additional insight into this process. As Berger-Fix has pointed out, this panel belongs to a period at Salzburg when artists simulated southern art, for it is a striking imitation of the painted crosses of Giunta Pisano and his followers.⁴⁵ If we look once more at the images of the Virgin and Child in the Seitenstetten Missal and the Klosterneuburg *Summa*, we can speculate that they may be based on similar, large, painted images (Figs. 1 and 6). The similarity between the Hildesheim ceiling and the Missal suggests this; and the Virgin and Child in the *Summa* resembles icons and panel paintings from the Byzantine world and Italy. Most striking are correspondences to the notoriously problematic Kahn and Mellon Madonnas in the National Gallery in Washington.⁴⁶ In the Mellon Madonna is the same positioning of the Virgin's body, frontal below, turned to the side above. The placement of her feet and legs is similar, as is the gesture with which she touches the Child's arm. On the other hand, the Child resembles that of the Kahn Madonna. He sits in the same position, feet crossed, and he holds his rotulus in the same manner. While they shed little light on the problem of the origin of the panels, these similarities do suggest that the image in the *Summa* reflects larger paintings or drawings, which had found their way north of the Alps from Italy.⁴⁷

The Seitenstetten Missal, the Klosterneuburg *Summa*, and the Orationale of St. Erentrud reveal the complex stylistic heritage of artists working at Salzburg in the thirteenth century, and emphasize their awareness of Venetian, Tuscan, and Byzantine art which had begun to reach Salzburg well

before the thirteenth century, and continued with the arrival of the Gaibana atelier.⁴⁸ From Salzburg this style was disseminated into other parts of Austria. The transfer of the Wimpassing Crucifixion to Vienna and the presence of Gaibana atelier fresco painters in the Tirol testify to this.⁴⁹ It is also demonstrated by the woven image of the Virgin and Child on the Gösner Ornat, now in the Museum for Applied Arts in Vienna.⁵⁰ The image of the Virgin and Child on this textile appears to be a provincial version of the one in the Seitenstetten Missal, for it also shows a frontal Virgin, holding a nursing Child to the left. The Child also plays with his foot, and on both sides of the Virgin are trees. An inscription dates the cloth to the rule of Abbess Kunigunde who presided at Göss in Styria between 1239 and 1269. Thus, while we can comfortably date the Gösner Ornat to the 1260s, we should also consider the possibility that it copies another manuscript like the Missal, or that both it and the Seitenstetten Missal reflect a larger image, possibly a panel of the Virgin and Child, analogous to the Wimpassing Crucifixion.

In sum, the portions of the Seitenstetten Missal that were illuminated by the Austrian Gaibanesque master reveal an established practice of imitating Italian and Byzantine art, which radiated from Salzburg and reached other parts of Austria and eventually Bohemia. We should also speculate that this master had been an important artist in Austria, even before the arrival of the Gaibana atelier. Not only might we see his hand in the Klosterneuburg *Summa*, but it is almost certain that we do in a manuscript for yet another monastery. This codex, consisting for the most part of the *Historia scholastica* of Peter Comestor, was made for the Cistercian house at Baumgarten, and is now MS 490 in the Studienbibliothek at Linz (Fig. 8).⁵¹ On folio

⁴⁵ Berger-Fix, "Das Wimpassinger Kreuz," 48–52.

⁴⁶ The question of whether these paintings are Byzantine or the work of a Byzantine master in Italy continues to be discussed. The most recent analysis of the problem is H. Belting, "The 'Byzantine' Madonnas: New Facts about Their Italian Origin and Some Observations on Duccio," *Studies in the History of Art* 12 (1982), 7–22. This article also contains the best published color photographs of the paintings.

⁴⁷ Henk van Os has provided excellent examples of a correspondence between manuscript images and panel paintings (*Marias Demut*, pls. 14a–18).

⁴⁸ The idea that the Orationale is part of a series of works in the 13th century has also been suggested by Peter Baldass, *Romanische Kunst in Österreich* (Vienna, 1962), 86. For a different opinion, see U. Demelius, "Das Orationale von St. Erentrud. Das Salzburger Lektionar," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Vergleichende Kunstforschung in Wien* 20 (1967/68), 6.

⁴⁹ Hänsel-Hacker, "Die Fresken der St.-Nikolaus-Kirche."

⁵⁰ *Romanische Kunst in Österreich* (Krems an der Donau, 1964), 204–6, pl. 15.

⁵¹ Most of the manuscript is the text from Peter Comestor; however, the page of interest here (folio 3v) is from the first nine folios which are actually taken from a text by Peter of Poitiers, *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi*. For the most complete discussion of this manuscript, see *Die Zeit der Staufer*, I, 575–76; II, fig. 539. Also *Romanische Kunst in Österreich*, 84–85, fig. 6. An exact copy of the manuscript is known from the Cistercian monastery at Heiligenkreuz, and it is likely that one

3v, in a representation of the Cosmos, we find the gold ground with painted borders of the Seitenstetten Missal and a figure of Christ who stands on a stool like that of the Annunciate Virgin in the Missal (Fig. 3). The hem of his tunic, seen just above his feet, has the small, white dots seen on the mantle of the Virgin (Fig. 1). Moreover, Christ's head resembles those painted by the Gaibanesque master in the Missal, especially in the calendar and dedication quires. Even Christ's eyes have the slightly rolled-back look of the eyes of the Virgin herself (Figs. 1 and 8). It seems likely that when the Gaibana atelier arrived in Salzburg, shortly after 1265, they enriched the style of an estab-

lished Austrian illuminator, already familiar with the art of the south, if only at second hand.⁵²

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⁵² For the sake of brevity, this paper has not attempted to distinguish extensively among Venetian art, Byzantine art, and the art of the Tuscan and Umbrian *maniera greca* as sources of imagery. For still further comments and bibliography on the art of Salzburg in relation to the art of Byzantium, see Otto Demus' studies *Byzantine Art and the West* (New York, 1970), 137–44, and *Das Antiphonar von St. Peter*, Codices Selecti XXI (Graz, 1974). Further study of the relationships among these centers should take into account the relatively early dates of Central European monuments. For example, could Tuscany provide a model for the Klosterneuburg image of ca. 1250, when no such image appears there before ca. 1260? Does this image point to Venice as a source of the *maniera greca*? Similarly, does the appearance of the nursing, turned-foot Child in Austria and then fifty years later in Siena point to Venice as an intermediary? See above, notes 39 and 46.

of the manuscripts copies the other (H. J. Hermann, *Die deutschen romanischen Handschriften* [Leipzig, 1926], pl. xxxvii).